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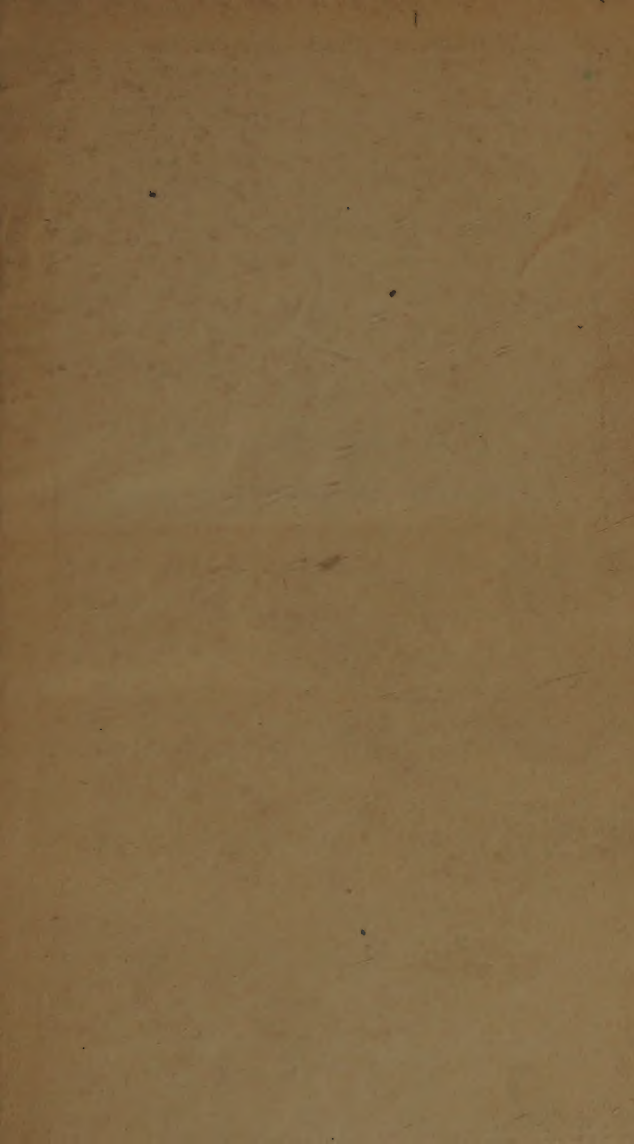
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AN INTRODUCTION TO
ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS

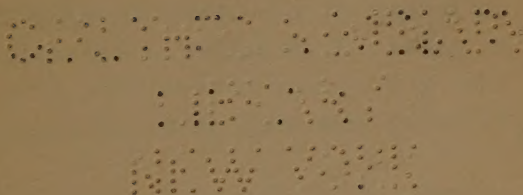
AN INTRODUCTION TO
ENGLISH LITURGICAL
COLOURS

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is, first, to serve as an introduction to the authors' larger work on the same subject (S.P.C.K., 1918, price 25s.), and, secondly, to meet the needs of those who are without experience in reading medieval Latin and English. Consequently no passages have been quoted in Latin (save here and there the initial words of a collect or gospel, or the like), and no references have been given, as all the passages quoted are either in the larger book on Colours, or from well-known works. But the English has been modernized in spelling for the facility of the reader: and instead of giving a long series of examples the results have been summarily stated.

A brief account of the origin of the vestments and altar hangings, of the symbolism of colours, and of the early examples of coloured ornaments is provided: and at the end, for practical purposes,

Preface

a scheme of colours is set out in full. It is what, in the judgment of the authors, after weighing carefully all the evidence and assessing the true value of each item, represents the general usage of the Church of England in pre-Reformation days.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS

I. ON THE ORIGIN OF VESTMENTS AND THE ALTAR HANGINGS.

The Theodosian Code ordered senators not to wear military uniform within the walls of Rome and Constantinople, but to don instead the peaceful *colobus*, or alb, and *paenula*, or chasuble ; and in the sixth century these were part of the official dress of a consul. Albe and chasuble were, in fact, the correct civilian dress of a gentleman. A more elaborate form of the *colobus*, known as the *tunica palmata*, was worn by the consul on special occasions. Over the *tunica* he wore a highly ornamented garment, with sleeves much wider and shorter, and reaching almost to the feet, called the *toga picta*. It is almost identical in shape with the dalmatic and tunicle of ecclesiastic use.

Besides the ordinary *paenula* or chasuble aforementioned, there was another form, of practically

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the same shape, but divided up the middle in front.*

As time went on fashions changed, but ecclesiastics continued to wear the costume of a gentleman of past ages, until it came to be reserved only for use in church, and they developed another costume for use elsewhere. The cope and the chasuble both are derived from the *paenula*; the alb is identical with the *colobus*; and the dalmatic and tunicle (which are the same) are the *toga picta*. Albe and chasuble were worn in the ninth century at Rome by all clergy from the lowest upwards: but the lower ranks, when they had to do something that required the use of the arms and hands, first removed their chasubles.

By degrees the chasuble of the lesser ministers was changed to a cope or a tunicle in the medieval uses.

The altar of the first seven or eight centuries seems to have been of the shape of an ordinary table, even when made of stone: the later four-square small altars being due to the Judaizing movement of the eighth and ninth centuries, which so curiously modified many of the ornaments and ceremonies of the Church. On the altar was a cloth. The early history of the altar cloth is rather

* See Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Church Ornaments and their Civil Antecedents*. Cambridge University Press, 1917, pp. 23 *seq.*

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obscure, but by the sixth century, at any rate, silken coverings seem to have come into use. Gildas mentions the purple palls used to cover the seat of the heavenly sacrifice. St. Gregory of Tours gives an account of an abbess who cut up a purple altar covering to make a dress for her niece. *v. l. 25*

These purple altar cloths were in use in England after St. Austin's time. They are mentioned in the Life of St. Wilfrid; and appear among the gifts given by Leofric to his cathedral church of Exeter. In pictures these palls are represented as covering the whole altar, falling down on all four sides.

It appears that at one time the rich pall was folded back, and the corporas, or linen altar cloth, spread directly on the mensa. A curious passage in the Roman *Ordo* of St. Amand (ninth century) directs the deacon on his return from reading the Gospel in the ambo, "if there should be a pall on the altar, to fold it back on one side toward the east, and then the corporas is spread on the altar by the deacons." It seems to imply that palls were not universal at that time.

In the Life of Pope Vitalian (658-672) a gift of a pall woven with gold to the altar of St. Peter's is recorded. This kind of pall developed into the frontal of the Middle Ages.

From the time of St. John Chrysostom it became

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customary to have a canopy over the altar, supported on four pillars, and called a ciborium. On these sides veils were hung between the pillars: those at the sides of the altar persisted throughout the Middle Ages as the riddels, while that opposite the priest, on the eastern side of the altar, became the overfront, dorsal, or reredos. So long as these were regarded as veils, the three were correlated in colour and pattern: but when the congregation normally was set behind the priest, the part of the veil which was visible at the back of the altar was of the same size and shape as the lower frontal, and soon these two were correlated, and constantly appear as pairs, the over and nether fronts. By this time the nether front was hung to the front of the altar, and the line of attachment was concealed by a band of rich stuff, sewn on to a linen altar cloth as an apparel, and called the frontlet: while the overfront was a hanging against the wall at the back of the altar, or on a rod between the two easternmost pillars supporting the riddels.

The two frontals, above and beneath, were known by various names, and with the habitual lack of precision in the use of terms that prevailed in pre-Reformation times, these names were also applied to other things, or other forms of the same thing. Front and counterfront, dorse and redorse, overdose and netherdose, table and counter-table,

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reredos and frontal, are among the terms given in the inventories.

Reredos and table normally are solid frontals for the back of the altar : but at Bristol St. Ewen in 1462 they had " 2 cloths stained of purple colour . . . that is to say, the reredos and the frontal." So at London St. Olave Upwell, 1552, they had " a suit of blue velvet, that is to say, one reredos with a crucifix Mary and John embroidered with gold, a front and frontell powdered with stars of Cologne gold, and 2 curtains of blue buckram [a thin cotton material], one chasuble, ij tunicles, iij copes, with all other necessities belonging to them."

New College at Oxford had c. 1460 " one over-table for the high altar of rich cloth of gold." But there is no need to multiply such instances here.

In a few of the greater churches they used, on high festivals, a solid front instead of the lower frontal. Besides the well-known possible example at Westminster, decorated with jewels, paintings, and glass mosaic, at the cathedral church of Winchester they had " the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones," and to go with it, " the front [= frontlet] above being of embroidery work and pearls, and above that a table of images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones."

In all churches on the highest feasts they used

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to set out on the altar all the jewels of the church, by which term was meant the plate of all kinds. Thus at Bristol All Saints, in 1475 there is a payment of 6s. 8d. "for burnishing of the church jewels, that is to say, the best cross, and the monstrance, upon the high altar, the coupe and the censers, with all other jewels." In order to make a greater display of all these things, they were set on a shelf which went by various names. At Bristol All Saints, in 1469 they had "i reredos to set jewels on at the high altar." At London St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in 1466 they had "four coffins to lie on the altars," which were evidently of the shape of a hollow box, and probably like the reredoses at Xanten and Calcar, and that depicted in some English MSS. At London St. Christopher le Stocks, they had in 1488 "a suit of vestments of white bawdkin, and a cloth of the suit to lie upon a form upon the high altar under the jewels." It is the only cloth for the form in the inventory. At London St. Mary-at-Hill, 1485, they had a lower frontal "of blue velvet powdered with flowers of gold," and "a frontell [or frontlet] for the shelf standing on the altar of blue sarcenet with birds of gold, and two blue curtains of silk fringed": and besides this, "a gilt table of the Trinity for to set on the high altar." No other frontal has a frontlet for the shelf. Another name for this implement was the halpas. In Hall's

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Chronicle, in the description of the preparations for "the Field of the Cloth of Gold," the term is used for a sort of loft or gallery to which persons ascended by a staircase. In the palace chapel at Guines "the high altar was apparelled with five pair of candlesticks of gold, and on the altar an halpas, and thereon stood a Corpus Domini, all fine gold, and on the same halpas stood twelve images of the bigness of a child of four years of age all gold." And in the king's closet was an altar which "was adorned with cloth of embroidery and rich pearls and precious stones set in goldsmiths' work of fine gold. On the altar was a desk, or halpas, whereon stood a patible of the Crucifix of fine gold, with an image of the Trinity, an image of our Lady, and twelve other images, all fine gold and precious stones; two pair of candlesticks of fine gold, with basins, crewets, paxes, and other ornaments."

It must be borne in mind that this was in France, and not in England, and that the somewhat vulgar object of it all was simply to impress the French with a great display of riches: politics, and not religion. Still, these passages show what a halpas was, and for what it was intended and used. No tapers are recorded to have been set on the candlesticks put on it, which appear merely to have been used for show, being of fine gold: they are classed with basins, crewets, and other ornaments.

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At Reading St. Lawrence, about the same time, they had in use a thing which they called a halpas with the twelve Apostles, at the high altar. The inventories, etc., mention curtains to hang before the Apostles; and two sets of upper and lower fronts (one of red and green cloth of tissue, the other stained) had also a covering for the halpas on the high altar.

It is evident that all these things, form, coffin, shelf, halpas, and reredos, were ledges or shelves on which various pieces of plate were set out, and they formed with the overfronts behind them what would be equivalent to a reredos in the present use of the term. The front of the shelf was covered in most cases with a cloth which agreed in colour with the frontals: but the candlesticks, in the sense of altar lights, were not set on it. In cases where they had a large solid table to set on the shelf, or behind it, it appears that this took the place of a hanging of stuff; for then there was only a lower frontal of stuff provided, and a frontlet of stuff for the shelf on which the jewels were set out. This was only used on the highest feasts, and so only one set of altar hangings, and that a rich one, was provided with the frontlet for the reredos or shelf. At other times one was not needed, as the shelf was only set on the altar on principal feasts.

In pre-Reformation days it was not usual to

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leave a carved reredos uncovered all the year round as is the custom at the present day. On the contrary, it was only left exposed on high days (when it could not be removed and put away in the vestry), and for the rest of the year a front or dossal was hung before it. Over the Lady altar at Bristol All Saints, one Alice Chester (c. 1475) "let made in carved work a tabernacle with a Trinity in the middle, over the image of Jhesu, and also on her own cost let gild it full worshipfully; with a cloth hanging afore to be drawn at certain times when it shall please the vicar and the parishioners." For the high altar they had a gold and silver tabernacle in two parts, each of which cost £20, "that standeth in high feasts upon the high altar." Instances of this sort of things are common in the inventories.

2. ON THE SYMBOLISM OF COLOURS.

A desire for what is known as "a teaching sequence" has led to many an explanation of how "each hue mysteriously is meant." With but few exceptions, different countries and different ages disagree in the interpretations put upon the various colours. Different authors have ascribed different symbolisms, so that for the greater part these "meanings" are only a local convention, and purely arbitrary.

Black has a gloomy appearance: and in most

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lands and most ages, specially in Europe, has been taken as a token of sadness, misfortune, mourning, and the like. Nevertheless it is found in the Middle Ages as the colour for certain festivals.

White has very commonly been used for festal and joyful occasions, and taken as a symbol of purity; whence it has generally been appropriate to feasts of our Lady and her virgins. Yet white was the mourning colour of the queens of France, and was donned by our Henry VIII as mourning for Anne Boleyn, and was the colour for canons' funerals at Salisbury and St. Paul's in the thirteenth century.

Blue was held to be an emblem of fidelity, and, being the colour of the sky, a symbol of heavenly things: but also was accounted a token of low spirits and fear, as in the common phrase "in the blues." In the Chaucerian ballad "Against Women Inconstant" blue signifies constancy, and green the reverse: and a woman (c. 1537) sent "a blue lace with a true love" to her lover, with the lines:

*I have sent you blue
Because you should be true.*

The purple of earlier days was a bright red or crimson. From the time of the Roman emperors it has been a badge of royalty, appearing with that connotation even in formal legal documents

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such as the Justinian Code (Lib. II, tit. viij, cap. vj, § 3), and continued so all through the Middle Ages. John Lydgate writes (c. 1440): "Of purple red was his royal clothing, this *Agnus Dei* born of a pure virgin." Every pillar-box in this country reminds us that this colour-symbolism still holds good to-day.

Purple or red, being the colour of blood, was naturally chosen for feasts of martyrs: and as the colour of fire suggested the flames of purgatory; and in a bad sense, war and ruin.

Green is obviously the colour of spring with its fresh herbage: and still connotes that which is young and tender, immature, or unripe. In a bad sense it signified fear, envy, or jealousy.

Several authors have attributed certain colours to the three theological virtues: but they do not agree among themselves. Marbodius bishop of Rennes (d. 1125), in his prose *Cives celestis patrie* and his commentary thereon, states that the green colour of the jasper indicates the vigour of Faith, and that of the emerald the most complete Faith; the blue of the sapphire signifies a heart with a sure and certain Hope, but the azure jacinth the Angelic Life; the chrysoprase, purple with specks of gold, means Perfect Love. Innocent III, writing in 1198 to our King Richard I, states that the greenness of the emerald signifies Faith, the calmness of the sapphire Hope, the redness of the garnet

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Love, and the clearness of the topaz Good Works. About the same time Sicard bishop of Cremona says, in the *Mitræ*, that white curtains signify purity; red, charity; green, contemplation; black, the mortification of the flesh, and a mixture of colours the variety of virtues. Dante describes the three virtues, one as "so very red," the second as though "fashioned of an emerald," and the third like "snow just fallen." His angels in purgatory are "green as new-born leaflets in their dress," where the commentators say that the colour signifies hope. Edmund Spenser dresses Fidelia "all in lily white," but Speranza is "clad in blue"; while Charissa, "full of great love," is "all in yellow robes arrayed." Charles Kingsley takes the rose as "the colour of love and youth; and green is the colour of faith and truth." An old saying current in some parts of England runs: "Blue is true, yellow's jealous, green's forsaken, red's brazen, white is love, and black is death."

Green was used in the Middle Ages at Soissons on Easter Even to show that with the approach of the day of the Resurrection our redemption was springing forth, like the springtide of the earth.

Green and yellow both had a bad significance as well as a good. Chaucer paints Avarice as being "as green as any leek," so evil-hued was her colour; and as for Sorrow, "Her seemed have the jaundice," and was full yellow and nothing bright.

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In *Piers the Plowman* Avarice is clothed "in a tawny tabard of twelve winter age"; and Bacon argues that "Usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets because they do Judaize," yellow being commonly allotted to Jews in the Middle Ages.

Innocent III and Durandus, in explaining why green is used in the Roman rite on ferial days, specially on those after Epiphany and after Pentecost, agree that the colour green is intermediate between whiteness and blackness and redness. No doubt some deep mystery and improving lesson lies hid here, for Gavanti and Merati, the great Roman ritualists, repeat this reason, and give no other. A "real teaching sequence" certainly gives occasion for thought, among other advantages.

As early as the sixth century the symbolical reason assigned for the use of white as the Easter colour was the white garb of the angels at the Sepulchre.

3. ON THE MEDIEVAL COLOURS USED IN ENGLAND.

Liturgical colours were grouped under four heads or principal colours: red, white, green, and black. Each of these was subdivided into a number of secondary colours, interchangeable with their principals for liturgical purposes.

Thus the early sixteenth-century inventory of York Minster includes under the heading *Red*

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Copes two of purple sanguine cloth of gold, and one of purple velvet; and there are two purple suits among the *Red Vestments*. Red-purple occurs frequently from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. The statutes of the Order of the Garter identify purple, murrey, and *subruber* as the colour of the secular canons' mantles. At Westminster murrey was a festal as well as a Lenten colour. Scarlet is found in the Edwardian inventories, and red-lake also once. Rose, pink, carnation or flesh-colour, horseflesh-colour (a peculiar reddish bronze), and the colour of *soupe-en-vin* or "sops-in-wine," that is, the wild pink, together with liver-colour, all occur from time to time, as well as some curious combinations, such as white-purple, green-purple, and russet-purple. The commonest shade of red in the inventories is crimson. Under white, cloth of silver was included, and also cloth of gold when the ground was not of a prominent colour. But red cloth of gold was referred to red, and so on.

Green and saffron or yellow are identified for liturgical purposes by medieval authorities. Under this head are included tawny (or "old-gold"), orange, ginger-colour, caudle-colour (apparently a pale yellowish green), popinjay-colour (the green or yellow of popinjays or parrots), and glaucous. The last is the colour of the foliage of so many seaside plants, a light bluish green with a white sheen in it.

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Black included a great number of shades, one group ranging through the blues, and the other through the browns. To take the blues first. *Blauus* and *bluetus* appear to be some dark shade of blue similar to our navy-blue; at St. Albans under *albae nigrae* (i.e. albes with black apparels) are included one of *bluetus* and two of purple. This purple must have been what was elsewhere called blue-purple. At York Minster besides a list of *Blue Vestments* there is one of *Black* which includes two dalmatics of blue damask. Violet is the colour of the sweet violet, a rich dark blue. *Indius*, *indus*, are sky-blue or azure; *blodius* and *ceruleus* are equated in the Statutes of the Garter as the colour of the mantles of the knights companions, a bright clear blue. A still lighter shade of blue was called plunket, which must have been closely akin to perse, which is described as sky-coloured, or of a greyish blue.

Crane-colour is the hue of the common crane, or in some cases, perhaps, of the heron, which is locally called a crane. In either case it is a bluish grey. Dove-colour is that of the ringdove, a greyish blue. Grey and ash-colour also are found, as well as various shades of dun and mouse-colour.

Next comes the group ranging through the browns. Burnet is a dark ruddy brown: brown, russet, or reddish brown, blue-russet also occur.

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In the inventory of *Chasubles, etc.*, of black colour at Lincoln in 1536 is found a set of yellow silk for Lent: a colour found elsewhere for the same season. Anne Boleyn wore yellow as mourning for Queen Katharine.

Mixed colours were very common, either in stripes or panes or a check of two or more colours, or with a mixture in the fabric itself, as in the cloth called *melley* or *medley*.

What is now called a shot-fabric used to be known as "changeable," and is often to be found in inventories. In fact, any and every colour or mixture of colours that was available at the time was pressed into the service of the Church for the adornment of Divine Worship: there was no thought of "correct" colour, nor of anything of that sort. Vestments, etc., of a variegated and indefinite colour were put to use according to their beauty and value; and the guiding principle, definitely expressed in the rules, was that vestments which were specially valuable and handsome, such as those with elaborate embroidery, or with a great variety of colours, should be employed on the very highest feasts.

4. EARLY INSTANCES OF COLOURED VESTMENTS.

In the Celtic Church coloured vestments and altar cloths were in use. Gildas notes that the seat of the heavenly Sacrifice is covered with a

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purple pall, as it were clotted blood. In the Gallican Church an abbess of St. Radegunde was charged with converting a purple altar pall into a dress for her niece. White vestments were worn by St. Columba at a Mass for Columbanus, as if on a solemn day.

In the Gallican Church white was the Easter colour in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The earliest picture of an ecclesiastical chasuble is in the Ravenna mosaics, where there are two, both olive-green in colour.

Black does not appear very early as the colour of vestments, unless the account of the action of Acacius the Patriarch of Constantinople in 476 be taken in that sense. He put on black, and draped his throne and the altar in the same colour, as a sign of mourning. A violet-purple is seen in the colour of chasubles in some early mosaics of the seventh century at Rome: yellow or golden chasubles appear in the early ninth-century mosaics there.

Other colours come in later. St. Livinus, an Irish saint, was given a purple chasuble, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, *c.* 600. Angesisus gave to the abbey of Fontanelle in 800 three chasubles of dark blue sendal, three green, one of red or blood-colour, and one *blattea*, which is said to be the colour of clotted blood. About 831 in an inventory of the monastery of St.

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Richarius of Centulum on the Somme appear 40 brown-purple chasubles, 5 of black silk, 3 of perse-coloured silk, 5 of yellow silk, and 5 white.

The chasuble of St. Ragnobert of Bayeux was noted to be yellow when he was translated in 864.

In our own country St. Cuthbert was buried in a purple dalmatic and tunicle in 687. Theodore bishop of London bequeathed white, yellow, and red chasubles in his will in 962. Egelric gave to his abbey of Croyland in 984 twenty-four copes, six of them white, six red, six green, and six black. Leoffine, the fifth abbot of Ely, gave to his church a red chasuble richly worked and ornamented: probably among those of which William the Conqueror robbed Ely a few years later, which were described as red, white, purple, and embroidered. The same king plundered Abingdon of many valuable ornaments, including a chasuble wondrously sewn throughout with gold-work, and a rich choir cope.

With vestments of several different colours it is probable that some sort of rule was evolved by which different colours were allotted to different seasons and feasts; but none is known beyond a casual rubric here and there. Thus in the Leofric mass-book two collets in black chasubles strip the altar on Maundy Thursday; and the priests, deacons, cantors, and the rest of the ministers wear fuscous planets or chasubles on Good Friday.

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St. Austin of Hippo gave a hint of a suitable distribution of colours for saints' days, when in a sermon on St. Laurence he said : " The Lord's garden, brethren, the Lord's garden hath not only the roses of the martyrs, but also the lilies of the virgins, and the ivy of the wedded, and the violets of the widows." Honorius of Autun echoes the same line of thought in the twelfth century, comparing the martyrs to roses, virgins to lilies, those who despise the world to violets, and the wise to green herbs. And it is in this century that the earliest colour-sequence comes to light.

5. EARLY COLOUR RULES.

The earliest colour-sequence that is known at present is that of the Black Canons of the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, dating from the early part of the twelfth century. *Black* is ordered during Advent, Septuagesima, and Lent up to Passion Sunday ; also on Christmas Eve at lauds, mass, and evensong ; at the midnight mass of Christmas, and at matins ; on the Circumcision, and for all feasts of our Lady. *Red* is to be worn at the dawn mass of Christmas ; on the feasts of St. Stephen, Childermas, SS. Peter and Paul, and of the Holy Rood ; during Passiontide, including Good Friday, and on Easter Even until the Kyries ; on Whit-Sunday and Trinity Sunday. *White* is worn for the third mass of Christmas ;

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on the feasts of St. John Evangelist at Christmas, and of the Nativity of St. John Baptist; at the mass on Easter Even, and thence till the Ascension Day (except on saints' days). *Blue* is ordered for the Epiphany and the Ascension; and for the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. *All colours* are worn on All Saints' Day, but the frontal is to be red and white.* The *best* frontal is to be hung before the altar on Christmas Day over three others; and the Genealogy at matins is to be sung in the best vestments, and the *solemn* vestments are to be worn on Ember Wednesday in Advent for the Gospel *Missus est angelus* at matins.

Innocent III, before he became Pope in 1198, set down a sequence of another type. In this *white* is prescribed for feasts of Virgins, Confessors, and Angels; on Christmas Day, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the Epiphany, Candlemas, Maundy Thursday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and the dedication of a church; the Conversion of St. Paul, and St. Peter's Chair. *Red* is to be used on feasts of Apostles, Martyrs, Virgin Martyrs, of the Holy Rood, Whit-Sunday, the Beheading of St. John Baptist. But, he says, perhaps it is better to use *white* on feasts of the Holy Rood.

* This section is corrupt: the most probable amendment of the text is translated here. For the Latin text see Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Essays Liturgical and Historical*. S.P.C.K., 1918, pp. 159-161.

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Some use *red* on All Saints' Day, but the Court of Rome uses *white*. *Black* is used during Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter Even; and for the departed. Some say also on Childermas, and others *red*; but at the present time we use violet, as on Mid-Lent Sunday. *Green* is used on ferial and common days. Some, however, refer *saffron* (which is to be reckoned as *green*) to Confessors.

Thus at the earliest period of which anything definite is known, two types of sequence are already in existence, a non-Roman type, and that in use at the Court of Rome. In both cases the writers are merely recording existing customs, which have hardly crystallized into absolute rule. The most marked difference is in the Passiontide colour, where Jerusalem uses red, and Rome black. So on Childermas, red in one case, violet or black in the other. On All Saints' Day all colours at Jerusalem, red in other places, but white at the Court of Rome: white for Confessors at Rome, but saffron elsewhere. Black for our Lady at Jerusalem is unique, for until the end of the eighteenth century white is almost universal, though occasionally red was used.

The use of black during Advent at Jerusalem is curious, for they used sequences or proses at the mass, as in other non-Roman rites; although they had not introduced *Gloria in excelsis* during Advent, as had been done in the Mozarabic rite,

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and at Toulouse, and even in the Roman rite itself of the twelfth century as recorded by Benedict, canon of St. Peter's and chaunter of the Roman Church (*Ordo Romanus XI*, § 4).

Another non-festal note of Advent, Septuagesima, and Lent was the retention of the chasuble by deacon and sub-deacon ; whereas at other times these were usually replaced by dalmatic and tunicle. And this persisted in the rubrics in England till the middle of the sixteenth century ; but in actual practice, as the inventories witness, either tunicles were worn by those ministers, or else no upper garment over the albe.

Christmas was a season of either twenty or forty days ; usually after the octave of the Epiphany the festal colour was given up, and the ferial *Preces* with prostrations resumed, but the Christmas doxology to the hymns, and the decorations, remained till Candlemas, or till Septuagesima if that fell first.

Lent began at first on Monday after the first Sunday in Lent, so far as the veiling or removal of images was concerned ; but in the middle of the fifteenth century a chronicler notes that "according to the rules that in all the churches of England be observed, all images [are] to be hid from Ash Wednesday to Easter Day in the morning," so that Ash Wednesday became in every sense the first day of Lent.

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Easter is a period which at first lasted till the octave of Pentecost : later on till the first evensong of Trinity Sunday : and, finally, as the week following Trinity Sunday came to be treated as the octaves or quasi-octaves of Trinity, Eastertide became extended till *Deus omnium*, the first Sunday after Trinity.

Vestment was a term which varied greatly in extent. In its most extended use it means a whole suit, including chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle, with several copes, tunicles for the lesser ministers, the necessary albes and amices and their apparels, stoles and fanons, frontals and riddels for the high altar, and even other altar furniture. At the least it means a chasuble with its stole and fanon. A pair of vestments usually means the same, with the addition of the albe, amice, and apparels ; but sometimes it is put for a whole suit.

In certain of the larger churches colour schemes or sequences developed by the thirteenth century. For the most part they are memoranda rather than rules : and are by no means exhaustive.

At (Old) Sarum, *c.* 1210, the colours for the ministers of the altar and the rulers of the quire were : *White* for Eastertide, the Annunciation, feasts of our Lady, of St. Michael, and of any Virgin. *Red* for Holy Rood days, all feasts of Martyrs, Passion and Palm Sundays ; and also for

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the tract-singers on simple feasts in Lent. Nothing is said of other days, nor is anything said of the colour of the chasuble.

At Lichfield, *c.* 1240, a similar but more complete scheme appeared. On Christmas Day the *most precious* vestments were to be used. *White* was the colour for the ministers of the altar and the rulers of the choir in Eastertide, including the week of Pentecost; for the Annunciation, the Circumcision, feasts of our Lady and her weekly commemorations, each feast of St. Michael, and of any Virgin. *Red* was used for Holy Rood days, Apostles (but not St. John in Christmas week), Martyrs, the Epiphany, Passion and Palm Sundays. *Varied colour* was used on the feasts of All Saints, any Confessors, St. Peter's Chair, Nativity of St. John Baptist (but *red* on his Beheading). On St. Mary Magdalene's day some colour, not given; but perhaps *varied*. On Sundays from the octave of the Epiphany till Lent, and from the octave of Pentecost till Advent (when the service was of the Sunday), the colour was left to the discretion of the sacrist. *Black* copes were to be used in Advent and Lent, and at services for the departed: and the rule ends with the caution that all these directions must be modified according to the means of the church.

At Lincoln a short direction tells the sacrist to see that the copes be as the feasts require: *red*

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for Martyrs, including Apostles, Evangelists, and Virgin Martyrs; *green* or *brown* for Confessors; *saffron* for Matrons or Betrothed. Nothing is known at this date of the colours for other days.

Wells, between 1273 and 1293, adapted the Old Sarum colour-memorandum to its own use; but as the document now exists, it contains interpolations of a later date.* As in the other rules, the scheme applies only to the ministers of the altar and the rulers of the choir. *White* was used on the Annunciation, all feasts of our Lady and her weekly commemorations, of St. Michael, of the Dedication, the two feasts of St. John Evangelist, and of any Virgin. *Red* was used throughout Eastertide, on Holy Rood days, for Apostles, Martyrs, Trinity Sunday (Corpus Christi), Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity, Passion and Palm Sundays; but on simple feasts in Lent the colour of the tract-singers' copes was that appropriate to the feast. *Green* or *saffron* was used on the feasts of St. Mary Magdalene (St. Anne), and every Confessor.

The Westminster sequence dates from between 1258 and 1283, and is much more complete than the previous. As the Benedictines commonly

* St. Anne was commemorated at Worcester Priory with octaves *c.* 1130, so that it is quite possible that her feast was kept at Wells in the thirteenth century. But Corpus Christi was not ordered at Wells till 1318.

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adopted the usages of the diocese in which they found themselves, it is possible that it represents the old use of St. Paul's. *White* was used from Advent Sunday to Candlemas (or Septuagesima, if that fell first), including the midnight and dawn masses of Christmas, the Circumcision, St. Edward's Day, the Epiphany, feasts and masses of our Lady, Ascension Day and its octaves, and Michaelmas. *Murrey* (*subrubius*) was used from Septuagesima to Lent, and *black* or *quasi-black* during Lent till Passion Sunday. At Whitsuntide (on days when the "embroidered" vestments were not used) the colour was sparkling, or *red*, or even *saffron* or *glaucous*. On Passion Sunday, and thence till Ascension Day, and all Sundays throughout the year except those already mentioned, on the Beheading of St. John Baptist, the days of St. Edmund the King, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and all Martyrs, the colour was *red*, or even *murrey*. On the day of St. John before the Latin Gate, the chaunters at evensong were in *white* copes, and the priests who censed the altar *saffron* or *glaucous*. Certain unspecified days had "embroidered" vestments: no doubt these were principal feasts, and the term "embroidered" is the equivalent of "most precious" at Lichfield, and "the best" of the later sequences and inventories.

Taking these rules together they complete rather than contradict one another. The most marked

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divergence is in the Eastertide colour : the red of Wells and Westminster is very uncommon. The Advent colour is black at Lichfield, and white at Westminster. Red for Martyrs, and for Passiontide ; and white for our Lady, Michaelmas, and Virgins are points of agreement. Confessors are in green, yellow, or brown ; at Lichfield “ varied colour ” may mean checky, striped, or shot ; at any rate, that of some fabric which could be referred to two or more colours.

Another curious fact is that the colour for the priest at the high mass, and the colour in general for the highest festivals, is seldom or never given in early sequences. The reason is no doubt that on days of the highest rank the most ornamental and handsome vestments were then used : in the Lichfield sequence the “ most precious ” are to be used on Christmas Day ; and in later sequences this principle is embodied and clearly expressed, the colour being disregarded and only the decoration and ornament taken into account. In the Dominican rite of to-day the same practice obtains : black alone being excepted.

The type of sequence which is seen in development in England is thus different from the Roman, and belongs to the same class or type as the Jerusalem sequence.

The information available from the Old Sarum colour rule is meagre ; and unfortunately the

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inventory of 1214-1222 helps but little, for not only does it record nothing of the occasions when the vestments were used, but seldom even gives the colour. The compiler thought more of their value, and notes whether they were "well embroidered," or "with a great abundance of pearls," or "beautiful": but two violet copes, two blue tunics, and a purple chasuble are mentioned, so that other colours were used besides those given in the colour rule: also, no instance of a suit of three chasubles occurs, such as the rules require for Advent and Lent.

It is probable that at one time red was more widely used for Eastertide than would be gathered from the colour-sequences. In 1237 three frontals of red samite were ordered to be made for the Chapel Royal, so that the King should have them by Easter. In the great churches the whole quire or convent wore copes on the highest festivals. Canterbury in 1321 had fifty-two red copes, and only two white, twenty-two of cloth of gold, and sixteen whose colour is not given. Obviously Easter could not have been kept there in white at that date, and most probably they wore red. In the sixteenth century, however, they had plenty of white copes.

At St. Paul's Cathedral Church in 1245 they had twenty-seven red copes, and only ten white, with eight whose colour is not given, which looks

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as though red was the Easter colour there also at that date.

As late as 1479 at Cobham College in Kent they had altogether twenty-seven red copes to twelve white; but the largest *suit* of the latter colour had only seven copes, whereas the largest red suit, which was cloth of gold, had five copes as well as eleven others belonging to it. The college was a foundation of eleven priests: so that it looks as though Easter and all other principal feasts were kept there in red cloth of gold. Red cloth-of-gold vestments are not uncommon in the later inventories for all principal feasts.

6. VESTMENTS FOR FEAST-DAYS, SUNDAYS, AND FERIAES.

The early inventories of parish churches show conclusively that whatever may have been the practice of the cathedral churches no colour-sequence was yet in vogue in the dioceses, because of the fewness of the vestments and altar hangings.

A London church visited in 1138 had only two suits, one of which lacked a chasuble, and a single altar cloth. Two other London churches visited between 1160 and 1181 also had but one altar cloth apiece, and one had two suits, and the other only one.

In 1220 Heytesbury Collegiate Church and eleven

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other prebendal churches of Sarum were visited by the dean. Heytesbury had seven vestments. Of the other churches one had five; three had four. In two cases one of them was old and worn, in another case three were old and one new, and in another one of the vestments lacked a chasuble; six churches had only two, but in three of these one vestment was old, in two both were old, and in the third one was of little and the other of no value. One church had only one vestment.

About 1250 twenty churches in the patronage of St. Paul's in the City of London were visited. Three had only one vestment, though one church had a second suit without a chasuble. Twelve had two suits, but in one case the suit had a second chasuble. Three other churches had two suits and a third which lacked a chasuble. Only two churches had three suits, and one church is noted as possessing a cope.

It is difficult to tabulate the corresponding evidence as to altar hangings, owing to the uncertainty as to the number of altars. Every church nominally had a *minimum* of three; some had more, and others probably only a high altar. But it is clear that the majority of the churches under notice had either one or at most two silken frontals, apparently for the high altar, and fronts of painted cloth for the minor altars. One church had no frontal of any kind.

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The same kind of story is told by the inventories of fifteen country prebendal churches of St. Paul's in 1249-52. One church had four vestments, with another for the Lady altar; five had three, but in one case two were feeble, in another one was rubbed, and in a third one was old. Six churches had but two suits: in one case both were feeble, in another both were old. One church had only one suit.

The altars in these churches were equally poorly furnished. Six had each a frontal of silk, and one a painted cloth. Four had a "painted table in place of a frontal," and one a silken front as well. Only a few churches had a second frontal of any kind.

In 1277 the archdeacon of Ely visited one hundred and fifty churches in Cambridgeshire. Four had but a single vestment, twenty-eight had two, sixty-two had three, and twenty-eight four. Four churches had five, three had six, and one as many as nine vestments.

The tale of "frontalia," as they are called, gives a similar result to that of the London churches. Of the fifteen churches in Cambridge eight had each two frontals, five had one apiece, and two had none. In the county two churches had six, one had five, five churches had four, and fourteen three, in one case all of silk. Thirty-three churches had two frontals, twelve only one, while sixty-

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nine, or half the total number, had no frontals at all, though most acquired one, two, or three later. Only in four cases is the material given as silk.

The number of Cambridgeshire churches possessed of three suits suggests a division that later became usual, into festal, dominical, and ferial. This is perhaps foreshadowed in the London churches possessed of two suits, which were generally of silk and of linen or fustian respectively, and could, therefore, have been used on Sundays and feast-days, and for every day. This would accord with a rule laid down at the Synod of Exeter in 1287, that the *minimum* of vestments in parish churches be two, namely, one festal and the other ferial.

It is possible that altars devoid of frontals sometimes had their fronts painted, like the Lady altar in the crypt of St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury, which has broad vertical strips or panes alternately red and green, separated by narrow strips representing the fur called ermine.

In 1297 twenty-two of the country prebendal churches of St. Paul's were again visited, but with results showing that things were not much better than forty years before. One church had four suits, including one for our Lady, and one feeble. Twelve had three suits, generally noted as for festivals, Sundays, and weekdays; but in one case two suits had no chasubles. Seven churches

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had only two suits, one for Sundays and feast-days, and the other for weekdays ; and one church had only one suit.

The colours are now more frequently stated than in the earlier lists, but both vestments and apparels are often simply described as *de pallo*, which seems to have been a cheap sort of cloth of gold that could be used on any occasion. Seven out of the twenty-two churches apparently had festal suits of red, but in one case the festal chasuble was yellow. The dominical suits were almost all *de pallo*, but two churches had yellow chasubles for Sundays. The ferial suits were usually old and worn, or of inferior materials. Several churches had red ferial ornaments, and one a green ferial chasuble.

The altar frontals were still few in number, but quite a lot of churches had linen fronts.

The grading of suits into festal, Sunday, and ferial, which came in at the close of the thirteenth century, was evidently due to the gradual increase in the number of vestments, but it had reference only to their richness and condition, without any regard to their colour.

This grading was also continued during the fourteenth century, but the further multiplication of ornaments led sometimes to a subdivision of the festal vestments for use on principal, double, and other feasts.

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The references in wills and inventories which now begin to be available do not suggest any special allocation of colours. Red for feast-days, and white or old cloth of gold for weekdays, seem to have been popular; but no particular colour was in favour for Sundays, red, white, blue, and striped stuffs all being met with.

Wills and inventories of the first half of the fifteenth century show a continued preference of red for feasts and white for ferials, but other colours are also found, and there is still no clear indication of a general rule for them. A rich house like St. Albans Abbey used blue, black, green, and white indiscriminately for weekdays; and St. Paul's had cotidian copes of both white and red. For Sundays such diversity occurs as black, blue and white, blue and red, both plain and striped.

Another visitation of the prebendal churches of St. Paul's made in 1458 is of interest both by comparison with the 1297 inventories and as showing what a group of country parishes possessed in the middle of the fifteenth century. Most of them now had three, four, five, and even more suits of vestments, some with tunicles to match, and several copes, the colours of which are usually given.

There is no division into festal, dominical, and ferial suits, but one church had a white suit for weekdays, another a white suit for festivals, with

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cofes of blue and white, and a third a green fuit for offices of the dead.

There was clearly no uniformity as to colours. Out of eighteen churches, fourteen had red, twelve green, ten blue, seven black, and only fix white fuits. Striped fuits, and fuits of red and green, and of white and rufset are alfo found. But more than half the churches had no white or black fuits, and four had none of red. Nothing definite can be deduced from the details of the altar hangings.

For the ref of the fifteenth century and the firft half of the fixteenth both wills and inventories continue to furnifh an abundance of interefting items. Feftal, dominical, and ferial fuits are constantly met with, but ftill without any rule as to colour. Checkered, striped, paned, parti-coloured, and motley ornaments are alfo found. The general diversity of ufe can be eafily illuftrated by examples. The well-found church of Cobham College in Kent, in 1479, had cotidian fuits of green, yellow, red, and purple, a white fuit for ferials, and green for Sundays. The parifh church of Baffingbourne in 1498 had white, red, and checkered velvet fuits for Sundays and other double feafts, and ferial fuits of green and red. At the rich Norwich church of St. Peter Mancroft they had blue for Sundays, and green for every day. It is evident, too, from the numerous cafes in which the inventories do not give it, that the

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richness or condition of a vestment was more important than its colour.

The inventories taken by the Edwardian commissioners, county by county, in 1552 in view of the great pillage, show that down to the end the general fewness of ornaments which still prevailed (as it does even now) made it impossible for any colour rule to have been followed in a large number of our parish churches.

Hertfordshire may be taken as a sample of a home county which contained also some important places. Out of one hundred and thirty-six churches and chapels, nine had not any vestments at all, and five of them not even a cope. Ten churches had but a single vestment or suit ; twenty-eight had only two ; twenty-six had three ; eighteen had four, and ten had five. One church had ten, two had eleven, one thirteen, two fourteen, and one even fifteen vestments.

The once wealthy abbey church of St. Albans, which was one of the nine, had been so stripped at the suppression that the parishioners had now only one green and two blue copes ; but the churches of St. Peter and St. Stephen both continued to be well furnished with vestments.

In a large number of cases the colour is not given, or vestments are simply described as old ; and it was evidently more important sometimes to describe a vestment as of silk, or velvet, or

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bawdekyn, so that it could the more easily be identified. But from the equally large number in which the colours are fully stated it is evident that quite a score of the churches had such a sufficiency of vestments as would have enabled them to follow a colour rule had it been wished so to do.

On the other hand, twenty-eight churches had no red vestments; thirty-two no white; thirty-four no blue; fifty-two had no black; and forty no green vestments.

Dorset may be taken as another representative county, especially since it contained two hundred and sixty-six churches and chapels.

Four churches had no vestments, though three had one cope, and the fourth two copes.

Twenty churches had but one "pair of vestments," as they are usually called; seventy-three had two; sixty-one had three; forty-two had four; twenty-nine had five, and fourteen had six. On the other hand, two had nine, and four other churches ten, twelve, fourteen, and fifteen vestments respectively. At Spettisbury, which had the twelve, nine are described as "good and badd," and the rest were "iij other olde vestmentes."

Some twenty churches might easily have followed a sequence. But fifty-four had no red; fifty-nine no white; and sixty-six no blue vestments. While one hundred and two had no black, and seventy-

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eight no green vestments. Only five had yellow, and only eighteen tawny and orange.

As in the Herts inventories, there is a considerable number of cases in which only the material and not the colour is given.

Since the Edwardian inventories were drawn up solely in view of the eventual pillage of the church ornaments, the occasion of use of the vestments was of no concern to the commissioners and is only very rarely noted.

In dealing with these 1552 inventories, it has to be remembered, however, that it is not possible to be sure that the lists represent what was in the churches in the last year of Henry VIII. With Somerset's advent to power, it speedily became clear to people all over the country that changes were about to take place, and that those in authority meant to seize the church ornaments and convert them into money. When the great ones of the world set an example of theft, the lesser lights are not slow to follow: consequently all through Edward's reign there was a vast amount of private pillage before the great pillage in the name of the Crown. Of this there is a good deal of evidence. The Surrey inventories, for example, frequently have a note at the end stating that such and such goods had been stolen out of the church since the former inventory exhibited to the Royal Commissioners, or "stolen by thieves

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when the church was robbed." Not infrequently the churchwardens sold the things with the consent of the parish, to save collecting money for the repair of the fabric, etc. The Royal Proclamations complain "that in many places great quantities of the said plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments be embezzled by certain private men contrary to our express commandments in that behalf." It was quite natural that this should so be, when the Commissioners were instructed by the Crown to dispose of all that was valuable among the plate and ornaments "in such order and sort as may be most to God's glory and our honour." Hypocritical phrases of that kind were not likely to deceive any one.

7. HANGINGS IN THE QUIRE.

In many churches it was usual to hang curtains or cloths round about the chancel on high feasts and other occasions. There is, however, no special sequence of colours to be observed in the instances that have survived, except perhaps the provision of special Lenten hangings.

Thus at Bristol All Saints, Sir Maurice Hardwick, then vicar, gave in 1471 to his church "four stained cloths of red and yellow, with wreaths and the arms of the Passion in the middle of the wreaths, and a scripture in the middle of the arms, *Dulcis est Jhesu amor meus*; the which cloths be

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of length in the whole thirteen yards and three-quarters, and of deepness a yard and a quarter; the which cloths he ordained to be hung about the quire the principal feasts." The chancel of this church, it should be mentioned, is enclosed at the sides by stone wall, and not with open screens as in many churches. At London St. Christopher le Stocks in 1488 they had "ij riddels of lawn that run behind in the quire," and "ij long and ij short riddels of red silk with griffins and T of gold, and crowns, that serve in the quire at times."

In 1546 they had at London St. Peter, Cornhill, "vj curtains of yellow and red say for the quire."

The disadvantage of stuff hangings in the quire, as things are at the present day, is that they are bound to damp the sound of the voices. When the singers of harmonized or polyphonic music were in the rood-loft these hangings did not matter, as their voices would be reflected into the body of the church by the tympanum and roof of the nave. And as the object of these hangings was only to decorate the chancel with something bright and cheerful on festivals, it may be better nowadays to seek the same results in other ways.

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8. THE COLOUR-SEQUENCES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE EVIDENCE OF THE INVENTORIES OF THE FOURTEENTH, FIFTEENTH, AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

The fourteenth century affords a large amount of documentary evidence in the shape of colour-sequences: viz. the earlier and later Salisbury rules; Graunson's rule at Exeter in 1337; the Wells rule, of a year or two later, which gives a full calendar of saints' days with the colour or colours appropriate to each; the Evesham memorandum, *c.* 1377; and the sequence of Pleshy College, 1395. To these must be added divers rubrics in different mass-books and ordinals. Wills and inventories also give a large number of items, showing the colour for some particular day or season.

For Advent the rules give red at Salisbury and at Pleshy; and apparently also at York, at any rate for Ember Saturday. At Wells it was azure, and at Exeter violet (*i.e.* the colour of the sweet violet, a deep blue). At Exeter, before Graunson's day, they had a chasuble and two copes of purple, and a violet cope, all for Advent and Septuagesima. At York in the sixteenth century the suit for these seasons was blue, and it contained dalmatic and tunicle for the deacon and sub-deacon and not chasubles. The Advent vestments

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were red at King's College in Cambridge, Winchester College in Hants, and Fotheringhay College in Northants, in the sixteenth century.

In the later Salisbury and the Exeter rules for all the principal feasts, at Pleshy for Christmas Day, Easter Day, Trinity Sunday, the Translation of St. Thomas, All Saints' Day, and the Dedication festival, the best and handsomest vestments were ordered to be used, regardless of the colour. The same rule still obtains in the Dominican Order, except that black is not allowed.

Christmastide is white in all rules: but on the day itself there are traces of the custom of singing each of the three masses in a different colour. Wells orders white for all except the mass at dawn; York orders white for that, but omits the colour for the others. Evesham orders white at midnight, but black for the high mass, saying nothing of that at dawn.

No certain instance of a Christmas vestment appears in the inventories: but at Lincoln in 1536 they had a white cloth-of-gold chasuble, on the back of which was an image of our Lady, with the Three Kings on one side of her, and two shepherds and an angel on the other, which looks as if it were intended for this season.

St. Stephen's Day was red everywhere; but for this and the two following days the later Salisbury rule has the second-best copes, the colour

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being of no importance. St. John Evangelist is white everywhere except at Wells, where the rule prescribes azure and white mingled together : that is, the chasuble was white, and the dalmatics and tunics and copes some white, some azure. Childermas or Holy Innocents was red everywhere, whatever the day of the week. The Circumcision was white at Salisbury and Pleshy ; white, “ according to some,” in Graunson’s rule. At Wells red and white were used together. The best vestments are to be used on the Epiphany ; but both the later Salisbury and Pleshy prefer those adorned with stars. Exeter and Wells have white all through the octaves ; but the later Salisbury red, and Pleshy violet or blue. White vestments ornamented with stars were in use at Westminster in the sixteenth century ; but Graunson, in spite of his rule, left a suit of red cloth of gold for use on the Epiphany, Whit-Sunday, and SS. Peter and Paul. At Lincoln in the fourteenth century they also had a red cloth-of-gold suit for use on the feast of the Epiphany. Salisbury, Wells, and Pleshy order red for Sundays after the octave of the Epiphany ; but Graunson has green in his Exeter rule, according to the custom of the Court of Rome. In practice the older vestments were used up during this season and Trinitytide ; but at Exeter in the sixteenth century all the daily vestments were red, and not green.

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Septuagesima took the same colour as Advent in most uses. In the sixteenth century blue was used at Exeter and York, and red at Winchester and Fotheringhay Colleges. Ash Wednesday was red at Salisbury and Pleshy, violet at Exeter, and apparently azure at Wells. But in 1327 they had an ash-coloured cope at Exeter for this day.

From Ash Wednesday to Passiontide Salisbury and Pleshy have red, and Exeter violet; at Wells probably azure, but the scribe has omitted the colour.

In practice white was used on ferials in almost every church in the country, for the veils for images, the altar fronts, and vestments.* In many places the older custom of using red persisted, at any rate on Sundays: as at Magdalen College in Oxford, 1495; Wingham College in Kent, and St. Paul's in London. Some retained blue or purple, as at Morebath, Exeter Cathedral Church, and York Minster. But as time went on, the use of white spread in many cases from the masses of the fast to Sundays as well, as at London St. Stephen's, Coleman Street; Finchale Priory in Durham, etc.

The explanation of this use of white, which is

* White for the veils was common also on the Continent: and under the name ash-colour was ordered in many French churches during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for Lent, till Passiontide, for vestments also. It still is the rule in the diocese of Lyons

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closely akin to ashen, is that "in this time of Lent, which is a time of mourning, all things that make to the adornment of the church are either laid aside or else covered, to put us in remembrance that we ought now to lament and mourn for our souls dead in sin, and continually to watch, fast, pray, give alms," etc.; wherefore "the clothes that are hanged up this time of Lent in the church have painted in them nothing else but the pains, torments, passion, blood-shedding, and death of Christ, that now we should only have our minds fixed on the passion of Christ, by whom only we were redeemed."

As an example of Lenten white vestments may be quoted the list of things at St. Albans Abbey in the early part of the fifteenth century. It shows how this custom spread even to the more conservative religious orders.

"There are ornaments for the altars for Lent of white cloth, with crosses of red sendal: viz. a complete set for the high altar both above and below with suitable riddels. Likewise a full set of the same suit for the altars of St. Hugh, of the Salutation, of the Four Tapers (the Lady altar), and of St. Stephen, and for two other altars there are no riddels. Also for the altar of St. Michael there is a full set both for above and below, of white cloth with crosses, with riddels of the same suit. Likewise for the same altars of St. Edmund

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and St. Peter (apparently the two others mentioned above) there is the same set without riddels. Also there is a cloth of the same suit for the altar of St. Amphibalus.

“Also there is a chasuble for Lent like network of white thread for the high altar ; and seven of bustian for the other altars. There are two white clothes of the Lenten suit to cover the two large crosses ; viz. one in the body of the church, and the other by the clock.”

The inventories show that these white vestments and ornaments for Lent were either plain, or adorned with ensigns of the Passion in red or blue or black, such as crosses, crowns of thorns, drops of blood, etc.

Moreover, the whole church was draped in white, as all images and crosses were either removed or else covered up with the white veils. In a few cases blue or black veils are found.

At first the veiling of the imagery and the setting up of the Lenten veil began on Monday after the first Sunday in Lent, “clean Lent” ; but by the middle of the fifteenth century Lent began with Ash Wednesday, and it was the rule “that, in all the churches of England be observed, all images to be hid from Ash Wednesday to Easter Day in the morning.”

Passiontide, the fortnight from Passion Sunday to Easter Day, was red everywhere in England :

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though at York they used white for the blessing of palm on Palm Sunday. Passion Week, i.e. the week before Easter in pre-Reformation English usage, was red, except that at Exeter the rules order white on Maundy Thursday if the bishop hallow the oils, but otherwise, red. Good Friday was red everywhere, except that Exeter has violet till after the solemn orisons, and then black, in the colour-sequence; but the rubric further on in the ordinal has purple, and then black. At Westminster they had a suit of crimson for Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday, and another of purple (i.e. a dark red with a tinge of blue in it) for Palm Sunday and Good Friday. At Exeter they still used a black chasuble on Good Friday in 1506; but most other entries in the inventories give some shade of red. In two or three cases it is curious to find that Lenten white had been adopted on this day.

The usual colour for Easter Even was red till the mass for all functions, including the hallowing of the Pascall and of the Font: though at Exeter they used white for these, and violet for the lessons, etc. The mass was everywhere in England sung in the Eastertide colour, or else, as at Salisbury, with the best (*optimis*) vestments and altar hanging. In the pre-Reformation rites, even-song, in an abbreviated form, followed immediately after the mass, which was sung at night. Compline

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succeeded, and not till that was ended were the images, etc. unveiled.

On Easter Day the rules order the best and handsomest vestments. The Eastertide colour was white at Salisbury, York, Exeter, and Pleshy ; but red at Wells, except on Low Sunday (*Dominica in albis*) and during Ascensiontide. Pleshy, during Easter and Whitsun weeks, allows the sacrist the choice of the vestments, notwithstanding the previous rule. Green was a very common colour for the banners used at Easter, and even for the riddels.

The rules are unanimous in having white for Ascensiontide, though the best vestments were to be used on the day itself.

Whit-Sunday was also kept in the best vestments, etc. ; but during the week the Eastertide colour was retained, viz. white, at Salisbury, York, and Evesham, as at Lichfield in the previous century, and red at Wells. Exeter and Pleshy also order red, although it was not the Easter colour there. Pleshy further allows the choice of the colour to the sacrist, in spite of the rule. Green dalmatics and tunics are ordered in the later Salisbury rule for the Ember Wednesday.

The colour of these best and finest vestments, of course, varied in different places. At Thame, Oxfordshire, in 1448 they set aside a very handsome blue suit, and at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester,

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they had a special suit of green samite, which abbot John Wygmore had worked with his own hands, for Whit-Sunday.

Trinity Sunday was kept in the best vestments, etc., according to the Pleshy and the later Salisbury rules; during the octaves no doubt the Eastertide colour was retained until Corpus Christi Day. At Wells the Sunday was kept in red, the Easter colour there, but in white at Exeter; in the latter case preference is given to green, if the church should possess a suit of sufficient size and beauty. During the octaves Pleshy orders violet or blue. Blue was worn, *c.* 1540, at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster; and the votive mass of the Trinity was sung in blue at the Chapel Royal at Henry VIII's funeral. At Arundel College red was worn for masses of the Trinity.

Corpus Christi gradually came in during the fourteenth century. Wells kept it in red, Pleshy in the best white, Exeter in red and white together. White, green, and red are found in the inventories; but there are only three items. In practice the best vestments were used on the day itself; and processions of the Host were always in rich copes, the colour being omitted in all accounts that have come down.

Sundays after Trinity were red at Salisbury and Wells, but green at Pleshy; at Exeter they were also green, "according to the custom of the Roman

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Court." No colour is given in the rules for the weekdays after Trinity. It must be remembered that in pre-Reformation times these Sundays were commonly occupied by some holy day; and the weekday masses were very seldom "of the Sunday." In churches not dedicate to St. Mary the Virgin, there were three weekly commemorations: on Tuesday, of the feast of the Place, i.e. a full service of the saint or mystery in whose name the church was dedicate; on Thursday, of St. Thomas the Martyr; and on Saturday, of Our Lady. In addition to these on Tuesdays there was commonly mass of *Salus populi* (with the Collect *Deus qui caritatis dona*) for the good estate of the parish or community; and on Fridays, of the Holy Cross. By the middle of the fifteenth century it became usual all over England to have a votive mass of the Holy Name, called Jesus mass, on Fridays, with the anthem *Salve rex* sung after compline.

Salus populi was sung in red at Eton College in the sixteenth century; but in blue at Exeter. Jesus mass was always sung in red, according to the inventories; and so was the mass of the Holy Cross.

The colour for our Lady was almost universally white in England, according to both rules and inventories; but two instances occur of red.

Apostles, Martyrs, and Evangelists were always kept in red according to the rules; but at Exeter

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the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Chair of St. Peter, were to be kept in azure. St. John the Evangelist in Christmas week was always kept in white: but white and azure together at Wells; his later feast was kept in yellow in the sixteenth century at Westminster.

Virgins not martyrs were in white according to both rules and inventories; though one instance of blue for them is found at Meaux Abbey. Virgin-Martyrs were also kept in white at Salisbury and Pleshy, though the latter prefers white vestments, etc., worked with red; and a white suit was left to a York church in 1446 for feasts of Our Lady and of St. Barbara. Wells and Exeter prescribe white and red to be used together on these days.

Feasts of Confessors were to be kept in yellow or green at Exeter, as were some at Wells; in yellow at Salisbury and Pleshy, with the alternatives of violet or blue at the latter; and the last-named colour for some at Wells. The inventories give green and yellow, as well as blue and black. Green for feasts of Doctors is found once. There was a tendency to keep monastic confessors in blue, but there was no precision in carrying out the scheme. On the Continent this developed into a rule later on: green for bishops and doctors, blue for monastic confessors and those who died before the Resurrection, and yellow for the rest.

Holy women who were neither virgins nor

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martyrs took the same colour as Confessors of the other sex ; but at Salisbury St. Mary Magdalene was ordered to be kept in white, while at Exeter the rule rather vaguely states that some used azure, or dark blue, some green, and others yellow. White was used at the College of St. Mary Magdalene at Cobham, but green at Westminster in the sixteenth century. Graunson ordered the canons of St. Mary Ottery to keep St. Anne in white ; at Wells the calendar gives green and yellow together. At Pleshy she was ordered to be kept in the second-best white vestments.

The Nativity of St. John Baptist was in white according to the rules of Salisbury and Exeter ; azure at Wells, and red at Pleshy on the day, but violet or blue during the octaves. The inventories show red in use at St. Paul's Cathedral Church and Finchale Priory. The Prior of Worcester gave a red vestment to All Saints Church there for St. John Baptist's day. For his Beheading Exeter orders violet, but Wells red, while at York blue was used ; at other places the feast was counted apparently as that of a martyr.

All Saints' Day is kept in the best vestments, of whatever colour they might be, in the rules of Exeter, the later Salisbury, and Pleshy ; the first-named also suggesting the use of vestments, etc., of every colour mingled appropriately, as on the Dedication festival ; at Salisbury the best vest-

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ments of mingled colours are prescribed. At Wells white and red together are to be used. At St. Paul's Cathedral Church they had in 1295 a richly embroidered blue chasuble, which the donor wished to be used on the feasts of All Saints and of St. Erkenwald bishop and confessor.

On the Dedication festival the best vestments are worn on the day itself; though at Exeter the use of all colours together is enjoined, and at Wells azure and white. During the octaves white is ordered at Salisbury and Pleshy. The inventories do not give any further information.

Michaelmas is white in the rules of Salisbury, Exeter, and Pleshy; at Wells it is azure and white. In the sixteenth century blue vestments, etc., adorned with angels were worn on this day at Westminster Abbey; but at York Minster red was used, and possibly at Canterbury also. St. Gabriel is ordered to be kept in white at Exeter; at Wells the colour is not given. The feast of St. Raphael was brought in in 1443 by Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter, who gave, for the upkeeping of the festival, a great suit of red cloth of tissue to his cathedral church, as well as a smaller suit of blue cloth of gold. In 1445 Lacy presented a red suit to Hereford Cathedral Church, on the office and feast being approved and admitted there by Bishop Spofford; and similarly to York

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in 1454. It would seem from this that he desired his new feast to be kept at Exeter either in red or in blue; and, later, in red at Hereford and at York, despite the Exeter rule of white for St. Michael and St. Gabriel. It is by no means the only instance of the gradual obsolescence of the colour-sequence drawn up by Graunson when he was fresh from the Court of Rome; even he himself changed as regards the Epiphany colour.

In some cases the colour for the saint's day was influenced by the season. Thus at Salisbury and Pleshy all saints' days were kept in white during Eastertide, with the sole exception of Holy Cross Day. At Exeter certain unspecified double feasts falling within Advent, or between Septuagesima and Easter, were kept in azure.

In view of the somewhat widespread idea that blue is the colour liturgically appropriate to our Lady, it is worth while pointing out that there is no evidence of such use in England at any period. It is true that at St. Albans Abbey Church the daily frontal at the altar of St. Mary, called of the Four Tapers, was blue, but so was that at St. Michael's Altar. At Thame, Oxon, in 1448 they used a "frontell" of blue and green bawdkin for the five days of our Lady, with two riddels of blue. The allocation here of the different vestments and altar hangings to different days was done by the vestry, or what corresponded to it in those

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days, and is somewhat anomalous. These are the only instances that have been found.

On the Continent, violet was used at the College of St. Bernard at Romans, Dauphiné, for the Conception and the Annunciation; and black at Jerusalem for all feasts of our Lady, and at Prague in 1517 for the Annunciation. Dr. Rock has left it on record that he had seen sky-blue used on feasts of our Lady at Naples, and in Spain (c. 1840).

The Abbé Malais notes that at the time of the wars in Italy blue vestments were observed in a church in Piedmont on the feast of the Assumption.

Blue is used in the diocese of Cologne, and perhaps in other Rhineland churches, for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and is known as *Muttergottesfarbe*—the colour of the Mother of God.

The attitude of the Congregation of Sacred Rites towards the use of blue vestments, etc., was hostile; there is no mention of blue in the Roman colour-sequence, which, further, orders white for feasts of our Lady. A decree of 23rd February 1839 mentions it as an abuse to be got rid of (*usum caerulei coloris, veluti abusum, eliminandum*). But permission was granted, 12th February 1884, to different dioceses in Spain to use blue for the feast and octave of the Immaculate Conception, and for votive masses of the Blessed Virgin; and again, 15th February 1902, for the same feast in Spain and Latin America. Downside Abbey has

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recently obtained the same favour. Otherwise the use of blue as a liturgical colour is not lawful in the Roman Church.

So far as can be ascertained it would seem that blue and violet, which according to medieval usage are liturgically identical with black, are to be regarded as the same as the black in the Jerusalem sequence for our Lady; and that probably arose from the text from Canticles, *Nigra sum, sed formosa*: "I am black, but comely."

There are several bits of evidence that point to the existence of a general colour-scheme or consensus of opinion as to the proper distribution of colours in England by the fifteenth century. Thus, in 1437 there were many complaints against the deacon and subdeacon of the Lady mass at Lincoln Minster. They would use the festal vestments every day, besides many other negligences and irreverent behaviour; and further, they wore "red vestments at the mass of our Lady *when they ought to have been in white*." There is no Lincoln colour rule known that prescribes this, so we are thrown back on the general custom of the Church of England. Again, in the list of vestments given to the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Somerby Church, in 1440, by Sir Thomas Cumberworth, Knt., some generally recognized rule is taken for granted. The first is "for the highest feast in holy Church that should be ministered in red";

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the next "for those feasts that are to be ministered in red, next principal feasts"; another was "for the feasts of our Lady or for her Virgins as far as for their double feasts it should be in white"; another was red "for Martyrs." All this shows that some general principles of colour-distribution were recognized, besides the universal one of the best and finest ornaments for the highest days, and the plain or worn ones for ferials.

It is tempting to speculate on what this rule might be. The widespread use of the Sarum mass-book even in the northern province, as shown by entries in wills and inventories, suggests the possibility that the rule that was taken for granted was that in the Sarum mass-book. Unfortunately there is no actual proof of this at present available, and so it can only be regarded as a possibility.

9. FUNERALS AND SERVICES FOR THE DEPARTED.

According to the colour-sequences black is to be used for funerals and obits, and other services for the Departed; in the Exeter rule, however, violet is tolerated for solemn services of this character, and even at funerals of great persons. Wells, on the other hand, insists that in such cases everything should be black and simple, even though the services be for a king or a bishop. Inventories and wills, etc., show that the usual

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practice was in accord with the rules. In the large majority of cases the vestments for requiems and obits or funerals were black ; but on solemn occasions blue is not infrequently found. Green occurs in six instances, purple in three, red once, and red and black once. In early days at Sarum they used white vestments at the funeral of a canon ; and a white vestment for the departed at St. Paul's Cathedral Church was probably for the same occasion.

The majority of herse-cloths were black ; but six instances have been noted of green, and four each of red, blue, and cloth of gold respectively. After the end of Henry VIII's reign the most frequent colour is red, then black, and then blue ; but instances occur of yellow, tawny, green, purple, and grey, and of these colours in combination with black and red.

It must not be assumed, however, that colours other than black or blue were necessarily used at masses of *Requiem eternam*, though in some cases it was so ; for there was a custom during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of celebrating other masses as well for the benefit of a departed person. Thus, when Prince Arthur, the eldest son of King Henry VII, died in 1502, his body was carried to the parish church of Ludlow on the afternoon of St. George's Day, and on the morrow, which was the fourth Sunday after

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Easter, these masses were solemnly sung: the first, of our Lady, in pricksong and with organ playing; the second, of the Holy Trinity, without the organ; and the third, of *Requiem*; and the same three were sung at Worcester where he was buried, on the Wednesday. So, too, at the funeral of Henry VIII, on Sunday, 13th February 1546-47, the first mass was of our Lady, in white; the second, of the Trinity, in blue; and the third, of *Requiem*, in black.

The church was often hung in black on the occasion of the funeral or obit of some great person. Wriothesley gives an account of "a great and solemn obit kept at Paul's in London for the Empress, late wife to Charles V Emperor now." This was held on 7th June 1539, being Saturday after Corpus Christi, and on "the morrow being Sunday there was a solemn mass of *Requiem* at Paul's sung by the bishop of London, the abbot of St. Albans being deacon, and the abbot of Tewkesbury subdeacon." There was "a sumptuous herse made in Paul's quire before the high altar," and "all the body of the church of Paul's in the middle aisle from the west door to the high altar was hanged in black cloth, and scutcheons of the Emperor's and Empress's arms." Similar arrangements were carried out in every parish church in London. Almost the same thing was done for the late French King on 29th June 1547,

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with the Requiem on the 30th. When Queen Mary died in 1558 her body was taken to the chapel of St. James on Saturday, 10th December, "which was hanged with black cloth." The high altar was trimmed with purple velvet, and in the dean's place was hanged a canopy of purple velvet. On the next day, Sunday, at nine o'clock a solemn mass of Requiem was sung.

Not infrequently at funerals of great persons a rich cloth-of-gold pall was first laid over the coffin, and then a plain or more simple black one laid on that.

10. THE OCCASIONAL SERVICES.

At baptisms the colour was red at Sarum and Wells; and at Great Witchingham, Norfolk, where the font is adorned with coloured representations of the Seven Sacraments, the priest who is baptizing wears a red stole. Confirmations, when they followed a solemn baptism, took the same colour; but in general this Sacrament was administered by the roadside in pre-Reformation days.

At weddings the colour is green at Great Witchingham; and a picture of the marriage of St. Etheldreda, believed to have come from Ely, shows the officiating bishop wearing a red cloth-of-gold cope. Mass of the Holy Trinity, which followed the nuptial ceremony in pre-Reformation days,

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was sung in some places in red, and in others in blue on other occasions.

No special colour was in use, so far as is known, at the Churching of Women. For Extreme Unction the priest on the Great Witchingham font wears a red stole. No other evidence is known.

II. ON THE NETHER ALTARS.

As a large number of churches have a nether or side altar at the present time, some account of the pre-Reformation customs in regard to the colours of the hangings and vestments used thereat may be useful.

First, there may be noticed a tendency to have most of the vestments, etc., of the colour appropriate to the saint or other dedication of the altar. Thus, at the Lady altar of St. Paul's Cathedral Church in 1445 there were three vestments, all of them white, and three frontals, two of damask cloth of gold, and the other of striped cloth of gold. At Christchurch, Canterbury, in 1540, all five vestments, and all the riddels, were white in the Lady chapel; and the only vestment mentioned as belonging to the Rood altar was of crimson velvet. In 1508 at the Martyrdom altar there were four red vestments, one white, and one purple, as well as another of purple velvet for use at the weekly commemoration of St. Thomas on Tuesdays. The altar of the Holy Rood in the

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crypt of Bristol SS. John Baptist and John Evangelist (c. 1500) had but two vestments, and both were red; and this in spite of the fact that on Mondays the mass was of the Holy Ghost, and on Wednesdays of *Requiem*; that on Fridays being of the Holy Cross.

On the other hand, some churches furnished their nether altars more completely; and the most common note of uniformity was white for Lent, each altar usually being provided with a set of hangings at least, and usually a Lenten vestment as well. No doubt the reason for this was primarily that the materials for such things were cheap; and as the general pre-Reformation custom was to remove all ornamental things during Lent, or veil them in white linen, frontals and riddels for Lent are usually to be found at all altars in the fifteenth century.

At London St. Margaret Pattens in 1470 they had six vestments for the Lady altar, red, white silk, cloth of bawdekin, green, blue, and white fustian. They also had three sets of over and nether painted fronts, with riddels of red, painted, and of white, respectively, as well as a white set, with curtains, for Lent. The other altars had painted fronts, as well as a white set of Lent.

The Lady altar at Cobham College in 1479 had five vestments: one green damask, another white silk, the third green for daily masses, the fourth

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of white silk for Lent, and the fifth for daily use in Lent. The hangings were in four sets: one of white silk, over and nether fronts, and riddels, for Lent; another of painted white linen with riddels and a frontlet of white cloth of gold; a third only riddels of paled red and green, and a white silk frontlet; and the fourth, also only riddels of red, for every day, and an old frontlet. The Trinity altar in the same church had two green vestments, one of bord-alexander for every day, and one white for Lent. The hangings were: a set of red fronts with painted riddels, and a red frontlet; a pair of riddels paled with red and green, and a green frontlet; a set of white linen fronts painted, for Lent, and two riddels; and a pair of red riddels and an old frontlet for every day.

When the church could afford it, there was a tendency to vesting the nether altars uniformly at other times than Lent. Thus at Bristol All Saints, in 1469-70, there were four altars in a line: our Lady's in the north aisle, St. Thomas's and St. John's on either side of the chancel door, against the rood screen, and the Rood Altar in the south aisle. The inventory mentions "ij cloths of blue damask work" for our Lady altar, for St. Thomas's altar, and for the Cross altar, besides "j cloth, with popinjays and scriptures" for each of these and also for St. John's altar, and another for the

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high altar. Apparently these were for days when the solid reredoses with which these altars were provided were exposed or placed upon the altar ; and so only a nether front was needed. They had Lenten hangings in addition to these.

The rich church of St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich (c. 1510) had five white single vestments, one for each of the five altars in the church ; and another white vestment for each of the nether altars, of satin at the Lady altar, bawdkin at St. Nicholas's altar, diaper at the Trinity altar, and bustany at St. John's. There was also a blue vestment at the Lady altar, and another at that of St. Nicholas, a dun vestment at the Trinity altar, and a red-stained vestment at St. John's. There was a complete set of altar cloths of each of the five altars for Lent ; the Lady altar also had a cloth stained with the Five Joys, a green nether front, an overfront of red with the Coronation, and a stained cloth of blue with divers saints. St. John's altar had a green nether front, a green upper and nether front. At the Trinity altar there was a nether front stained with the Trinity, and an upper and nether front of stained red cloth. St. Nicholas's altar had a nether front of green bawd-kin, and a white cloth stained with the Coronation of our Lady. Each of the four nether altars had also an upper and lower front of black sarcenet, and a set of white stained.

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The church of Reading St. Lawrence, in the early part of the sixteenth century, was even better furnished as regards the side altars. The Lady altar had a marble reredos, part of which is still preserved in the church; the altar cloths were (1) blue (with riddels); (2) russet (with riddels of russet and white); (3) bawdkin and black, and blue and orange; (4) red for above and below (and riddels); (5) linen (with riddels) with a red cross for Lent.

There were ten vestments: russet and white, green, white, green, purple, red, white, another white, crimson, and white fustian for Lent. St. John's altar had no special vestments; but there were four altar cloths of red and blue paned, black velvet and bawdkin (and riddels), russet and white, and a stained cloth. The overfront was an alabaster reredos. There were five vestments at St. Thomas's altar: green, white, crimson, red, and white fustian for Lent; and seven altar cloths: blue, crane-colour and white (with riddels), black velvet and bawdkin paned (with riddels of blue and orange-colour), black and blue, one with St. Blaise on it, linen with red crosses for Lent (with riddels), and plain black and orange. At the Sepulchre altar the three vestments were crimson, russet, and white respectively; and the altar cloths (1) crimson and tawny for above, crimson and bawdkin for below; (2) crimson and blue

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(with green riddels); (3) riddels and dossal of russet and blue, and nether front of white and green. The Trinity altar had four vestments: (1) cloth of silver; (2) black; (3) green; (4) green bord-alexander. No fronts are mentioned.

The explanation of the differences between the provision for the nether altars in different places and at different dates, in part at any rate, is that, e.g. when only the Lady mass was said at the Lady altar, there was no need for other colours; but when other masses were said as well then other colours were provided. A daily Lady mass was often sung in the larger parish churches, specially during Lent; very likely the white silk vestment for Lent at Cobham College was for this. Various other masses were said at other nether altars: either of the day or some special *cursus* of votive masses.

12. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

It now remains to summarize for present-day use the results of this inquiry into the colours used liturgically in England during the Middle Ages.

Where the colour-sequence is definitely known, it seems right that the cathedral church in which it formerly obtained should continue to follow it, modified by the evidence of the inventories as to what was actually worn and used. And although

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these rules were only those of the cathedral church, and diocesan sequences never obtained in England, yet it would be quite in accord with canonical principles for the parish churches to copy the customs of the mother church of the diocese, so far as their means will allow them.

Most, if not all, of the cathedral and collegiate churches now have more than a single red frontal, and a few have even one or more copes.

A large number of parish churches also have a change of frontals, and happily more than a few possess sets of vestments, or at least one chasuble and its appurtenances, if only of linen.

But there are many churches which for lack of means are still scantily furnished with altar hangings or vestments. The same condition of things prevailed from quite early times down to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is obvious, therefore, that the single vestment or frontal which often was, and is yet, all that numbers of churches possessed, can only have been used every day and at all seasons. And so it must be still. A church with two vestments used the better suit for Sundays and festivals, and the meaner for ferial days, regardless of the colour; and this again should be the rule now.

An increase to three suits would enable many a church to follow the old English precedent of a festal suit, a Sunday suit, and a weekday suit;

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to which might be added a plain suit of white linen for Lent.

Where the means of the church will allow, something more is desired, and the following table gives the colours that may be used for each day of the Church's year. When two colours are given, the former is that which of old time was the more prevalent.

It was customary in England, and is still the rule in the Dominican Order, to use on the highest feasts the best and most handsome vestments, whether or not the colour was that proper to the feast. On Sundays and weekdays after Epiphany and Trinity the older vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of their colour, were used up. There is no need whatever, at any rate at these latter seasons, for the frontals and vestments to agree in colour: they certainly did not always in the Middle Ages.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
Advent . . .	Red or Blue. On the Third Sunday in Advent, on account of the prominence of St. John Baptist in the collect and gospel appointed for this day in the Book of Common Prayer, it would be in accord with medieval precedent to alter the colour to that appropriate to St. John; just as the mass of Ember Wednesday in Advent was often sung in our Lady's colour for a like reason.
Christmas . . .	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of their colour; but otherwise White.
St. Stephen . . .	Red, and the second-best copes.
St. John Evangelist	White, and the second-best copes.
Holy Innocents or Childermas . . .	Red, and the second-best copes.
During the octaves of Christmas . . .	White.
Circumcision . . .	White, or White and Red together.

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TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS—*continued*

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
The Epiphany, or Twelfth Day	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, especially those adorned with stars, regardless of the colour. Otherwise Red or White.
During the octaves	Red or White.
Sundays after Epiphany	Red
Weekdays after Epiphany	Red, or any old or worn vestments or frontals of whatever colour.
Septuagesima to Lent	Red or Blue.
Ash Wednesday, or the First day of Lent	Red.
Weekdays in Lent until Passion Sunday	Plain White. The vestments, frontals, and hangings may be adorned with small red, blue, or black crosses and other symbols of the Passion.
Sundays in Lent until Passion Sunday	Plain White. This may be used as on the weekdays with more reason under the Book of Common Prayer, since that prescribes the Lenten memorial of the fast for Sundays as well as weekdays, which was not done in the Salisbury rite. When they have not any Lenten White, Red or Blue may be used.
Passiontide, Sundays and weekdays alike	Red. Where more than one suit of red exists, the darker and plainer should be used.
Maundy Thursday .	Red.
Good Friday	Red vestments at the <i>missa sticca</i> or ante-communion service.

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TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS—*continued*

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
Easter Even . . .	Red vestments at the ante-communion service. At evensong the Lenten veils still remain up, but the altar hangings and copes should be the Best; otherwise White.
Easter Day . . .	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of colour; otherwise White. Before the first service of Easter morning all the Lenten gear is removed.
Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week . . .	White, and the second-best copes.
The rest of Eastertide . . .	White.
The Rogation Days	White.
The Ascension Day	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of colour; otherwise White.
Thence till Whit-Sunday . . .	White.
Whit-Sunday . . .	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of colour; otherwise White. Red was used in a few places, even though it was not the Paschal colour there.
Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week	White, and the second-best copes (or Red).
Rest of Whitsun Week . . .	White (or Red).
Trinity Sunday . . .	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings, regardless of colour; otherwise White or Red.

English Liturgical Colours

TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS—*continued*

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
During the week .	White or Red, as Trinity Sunday has octaves still in the Book of Common Prayer.
[Corpus Christi .	The Best vestments, etc., otherwise Red, or Red and White together.]
Sundays after Trinity	Red. Green is ordered in one or two places. In practice the older and least handsome vestments should be used, whatever their colour.
Weekdays after Trinity .	As on the Sundays.
Dedication Festival	The Best vestments, frontals, and hangings; otherwise White, or all colours together: that is, chasuble, tunics, copes, and frontals, each of a different colour.
The <i>Festum loci</i> , of the saint or mystery in whose name the church is dedicated	The Best vestments, etc.; otherwise those of the colour appropriate to the saint or mystery.
Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary .	White.
Saints' days in Eastertide	White.
Apostles, Martyrs, and Evangelists, out of Eastertide .	Red.
Virgin-Martyrs .	White, or White and Red together.
Virgins not Martyrs	White.

English Liturgical Colours

TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS—*continued*

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
Confessors . . .	Yellow, Green, or Blue. If the church should happen to be so well off as to have sets of each of these colours, there would be no objection to reserving Green for doctors and bishops, Blue for ascetic and monastic confessors, and Yellow for the rest.
Holy Women not Virgins . . .	Yellow or Green.
Angels . . .	White or Red.
Holy Cross Days . . .	Red (even in Eastertide).
Nativity of St. John Baptist . . .	White or Blue.
St. Mary Magdalene	White ; Green and Yellow, Yellow, or Blue.
The Transfiguration	White (no English medieval information).
The Holy Name . . .	The Best vestments, etc. ; otherwise Red.
Michaelmas . . .	White, or White and Blue together.
All Saints' Day . . .	The Best vestments, etc. ; otherwise Red and White together All colours together are also recommended, as on the Dedication Festival.
All Souls' Day . . .	Black, or Blue in default of Black.
Funerals and Requiem Services . . .	Black or dark Blue.
Baptisms . . .	Red.

English Liturgical Colours

TABLE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS—*continued*

SEASON OR DAY	COLOURS
Confirmations .	Red.
Weddings . .	Green, Red, Blue.
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for Thanksgiving	The Best vestments, etc. ; other- wise Red, or White.
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